DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 199 348 UD 021 298

AUTHOR Foushee, Ray: And Others
TITLE Housing and School Desegregation Increased by Section 8 Moves. Under Public Housing Program Most Black Families Chose Jefferson County Suburbs. Staff Report 80-1.
INSTITUTION Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, Louisville.
PUB DATE Apr 80
NOTE 38p.: Some tables and maps may be marginally legible due to small print. For related documents see UD 021 299-301.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Busing: Demography: *Desegregation Effects: Elementary Secondary Education: Federal Programs: *Housing Opportunities: Population Distribution: *Residential Patterns: *School Desegregation: *Urban to Suburban Migration
IDENTIFIERS *Kentucky (Jefferson County)

ABSTRACT

The Section 8 housing assistance program in Jefferson County, Kentucky, is a Federally funded program designed to expand the housing choices of low to moderate income families. This report provides an analysis of all moves made in Jefferson County between 1975 and 1979 by participants in the program, as they relate to the county's school desegregation plan. High school attendance areas were used for geographic reference. The study indicated that the program has been responsible for major demographic changes in the racial character of the Jefferson County community. In several areas of the city, it has allowed the school board to reduce the amount of transportation necessary to achieve school desegregation. In other areas, it has created population shifts that necessitate additional student transportation. Tables of data and maps are included. (MK)

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Housing and School Desegregation Increased By Section 8 Moves

Under Public Housing Program Most Black Families Chose Jefferson County Suburbs

Staff Report 80-1
Kentucky Commission on Human Rights
Commonwealth of Kentucky
832 Capitol Plaza Tower
Frankfort, Kentucky 40601

ED199348

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Preface

This report provides an analysis of all moves made in Jefferson County between 1975 and November 1979 by participants in the Section 8 existing housing rental assistance program, as they relate to the Jefferson County school desegregation plan. Under the existing housing portion of the Section 8 program, properly certified applicants become eligible for federal financial assistance in paying their rent on apartments or houses which are privately owned and meet a set of strict physical standards. Certification is based on an applicant's income and family size.

Jefferson County High School attendance areas for the 1979-80 school year are used for geographic reference throughout this report for easy recognition. When, for example, the report says that there has been a gain of 252 black school age children in the Thomas Jefferson area as a result of Section 8 moves, it does not mean that great an increase at the single school. Rather, it means, the children will be attending elementary and middle schools in that area as well as the high school. In some cases, the children might even be pre-schoolers. For purposes of this report, the term "school-age children" refers to all persons who are 18 years old or younger.

Computer printouts were provided to the staff of the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights by the University of

Louisville Urban Studies Center, which operates a computerized information system for the Jefferson County Housing Authority. These tables provided detailed data on all moves made in Jefferson County under the Section 8 Housing Assistance Program from the program's inception in 1975 until November 6, 1979, and included the race of each Section 8 leaseholder, the number of school-age children in each family, the census tract each household lived in at the time of their certification, and the census tract into which they relocated, and were the source of all Section 8 data used in this report.

Only numerical data was supplied however, and the confidentiality of individual applicants' files was strictly maintained by the Urban Studies Center.

Housing and School Desegregation Increased By Section 8 Moves

The Section 8 housing assistance plan in Jefferson County - a publicly funded program designed to expand the housing choices of low to moderate income families - has proven an effective way to trim the need to bus children for school desegregation while also helping more blacks break out of the Louisville ghetto.

More than half of the net movement of school age children resulting from Section 8 assistance moves by black families within Jefferson County has been into mostly white neighborhoods.

Figures supplied to the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights by the Jefferson County Housing Authority show 722 of the 1,413 black families that signed Section 8 leases since 1978 moved into suburban Jefferson County. Such change contrasts sharply with 1970 census figures which show that only 9.8 percent of the county's black population lived outside the Louisville city limits just 10 years ago (see Table A).

Even on the eve of school desegregation in 1974, only

TABLE A

COMPARISON OF SECTION 8 MOVES TO SUBURBAN JEFFERSON COUNTY BY BLACK FAMILIES WITH COMPARABLE POPULATION AND SCHOOL ENROLLMENT FIGURES*

	Total Jeff. Co.	City of Louisville	Suburban Jeff. Co.	% Black Outside City Limits
Total Black Population- 1970 Census:	95,393	86,040	9,353	9.8%
Black Jeff. County Student Population- 1974 :	25,496	21,548	3,948	15.5%
Section 8 Leases Signed by Black Families - 1976-79 :	1,413	691	722	51.1%

*Sources: More Housing Segregation Than Ever ... In Louisville and Jefferson County, a 16 page report published by the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, December 1973.

Housing Segregation Increases as Schools Desegregate in Jefferson County, an 11-page report published by the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, May 1977.

November 6, 1969, computer breakdown of all Jefferson County Section 8 moves since 1975, provided by the University of Louisville Urban Studies Center.

3,948 - or 15.5 percent - of the 15,496 black students attending city and county schools lived outside the Louisville city limits.

Even though this actual shift of black school age children is less than one percent of the total school population, those

moves have served as one vital step in helping black families look beyond those concentrated areas of the past which created the need for school desegregation in the first place.

These moves have contributed to population shifts that permit Jefferson County School officials to make periodic revisions in busing plans that not only cut the number of children bused in the areas that are desegregating but has also cut the travel time of many of the school children still being bused.

Those students, black and white, who move into areas where they are in the racial minority are immediately exempted from busing. And, as more black families follow, with Section 8 assistance and on their own, they will ultimately develop the pattern that can be the only truly effective way to completely eliminate the need to bus students for school desegregation: neighborhoods that reflect the rich racial diversity that exists in Jefferson County.

Most Show Preference For County Areas

While more than three-fourths of the black families signing Section 8 leases lived within Louisville when they were certified, fewer than half chose to remain in the city. This means that one of every three black city dwelling families signing Section 8 leases chose to relocate in the county rather than remain in the traditionally black sections of the city. Virtually all of the black families already living in the county chose to remain in suburban areas (see Table B).

TABLE B

RESIDENCE OF BLACK FAMILIES WHO HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THE SECTION 8 PROGRAM--PRIOR TO RELOCATION*

	Number of Black Families	% of All Black Families in Program
Louisville:	1,064	75.3
Suburban Jefferson County:	349	24.7
	1,413	100.0

RESIDENCE OF BLACK FAMILIES WHO HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THE SECTION 8 PROGRAM--FOLLOWING RELOCATION

	Number of Black Families	% of All Black Families in Program
Louisville:	691	48.9
Suburban Jefferson County:	722	51.1
	1,413	100.0

Source: November 6, 1979 computer breakdown of all Jefferson County Section 8 moves since 1975, provided by the University of Louisville Urban Studies Center.

One beneficial side effect of such a pattern is the easing of some of the serious overcrowding that developed within the city in the 1950s and 1960s when harsh segregation forces left the growing black population - including blacks pushed out of center city housing by urban renewal - with no where to go but into the old one-family homes of the west end.

As a result of the sharp increase in that area's black residency then, many of those homes were cut into numerous apartments each housing several families with obvious strain on

schools, parks, libraries and other public facilities.

For example, in 1955, 2,710 students in the area between Broadway and Market Streets, 18th and the River attended Henry Clay and Shawnee elementary schools, Shawnee junior high and Shawnee senior high. None was black. By 1965 the total student population had almost doubled to 4,527 with 2,279 of them black.

By 1971 the city system built the new Martin Luther King school in that area, replaced the old Henry Clay with a larger Whitney Young and the total student population in the same area was 5,436 with 2,888 of them black.

But now, with increased options available to them, many black families who have been living in the west end, in the southeastern part of the city, and the central city are choosing to escape from such overcrowding and moving to various sections of the county.

Most of the black families using Section 8 assistance have moved to center and west sections of the county just south of the city limits because that is where most of the housing available to Section 8 families has been concentrated. Therefore, busing in the northeast and southern parts of Jefferson County was not cut by these assistance moves and will remain close to past levels.

Most of the movement has been into the area around Thomas Jefferson High, Butler and Iroquois high schools. The 279 black families signing leases in the Thomas Jefferson High School area account for almost one-fifth of the total number

TABLE C

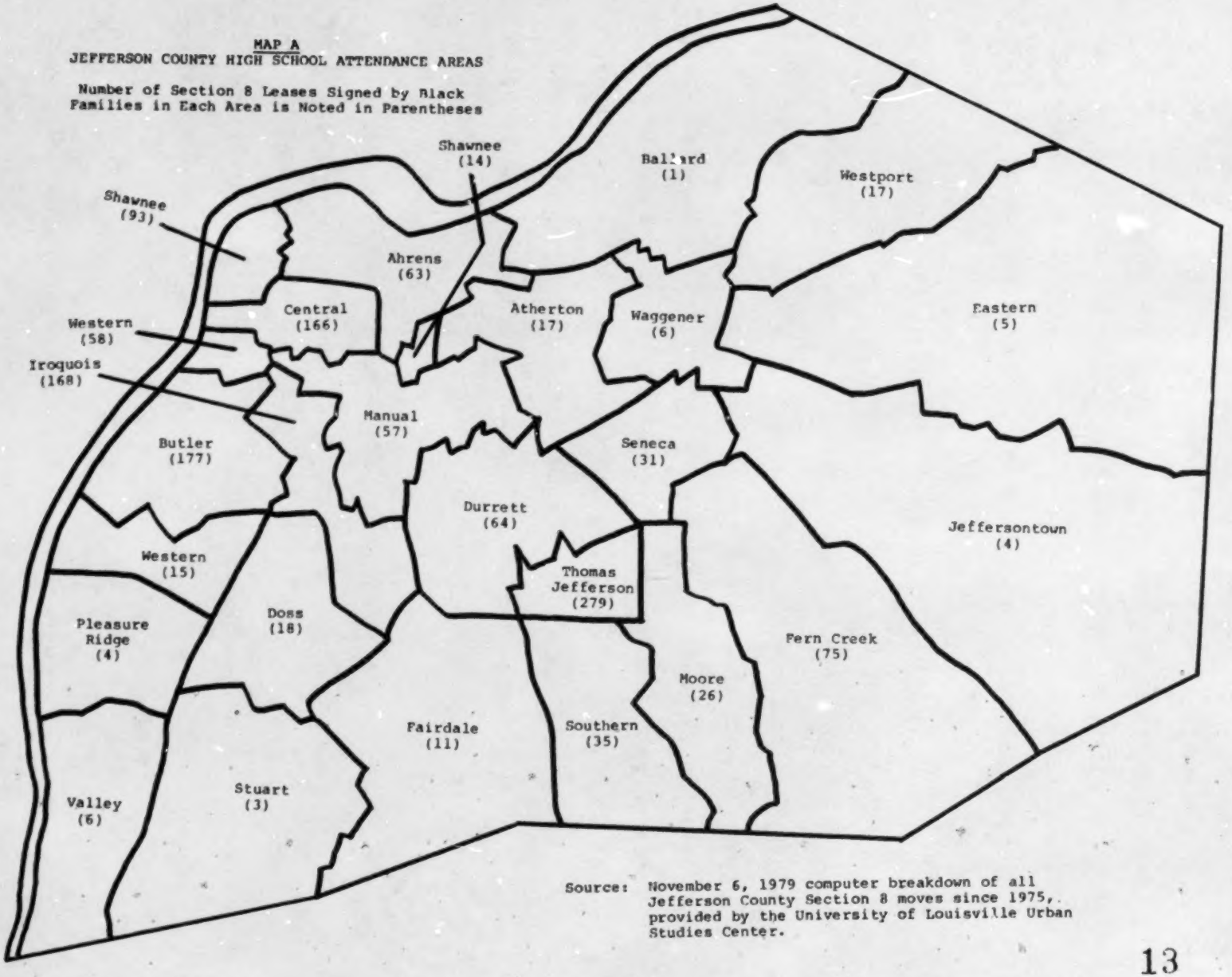
NUMBER OF SECTION 8 LEASES SIGNED BY
BLACK FAMILIES IN JEFFERSON COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL
ATTENDANCE AREAS (Sept. 1975-Nov. 1979)*

High School Attendance Area	Number of Section 8 Leases Signed by Black Families	% of all Section 8 Leases Signed by Black Families in Jefferson County
1. Thomas Jefferson	279	19.7%
2. Butler	177	12.5
3. Iroquois	168	11.9
4. Central	166	11.7
5. Shawnee	107	7.6
6. Fern Creek	75	5.3
7. Western	73	5.2
8. Durrett	64	4.6
9. Ahrens	63	4.4
10. Manual	57	4.0
11. Southern	35	2.5
12. Seneca	31	2.2
13. Moore	26	1.9
14. Doss	18	1.3
15. Westport	17	1.2
16. Atherton	17	1.2
17. Fairdale	11	0.8
18. Waggener	6	0.4
19. Valley	6	0.4
20. Eastern	5	0.3
21. Jeffersontown	4	0.3
22. Pleasure Ridge Park	4	0.3
23. Stuart	3	0.2
24. Ballard	1	0.1
	1,413	100.0%

*Source: November 6, 1979 computer breakdown of all Jefferson County Section 8 moves since 1975 provided by the University of Louisville Urban Studies Center.

MAP A
JEFFERSON COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AREAS

Number of Section 8 Leases Signed by Black Families in Each Area is Noted in Parentheses



Source: November 6, 1979 computer breakdown of all Jefferson County Section 8 moves since 1975, provided by the University of Louisville Urban Studies Center.

of black families who made Section 8 moves. There were 177 leases signed by black families in the Butler area of Shively and 168 leases signed by black families in the Iroquois area of south Louisville. Those three areas account for 44 percent of the total Section 8 leases signed by blacks (see Map A and Table C).

The further concentration of blacks in the Thomas Jefferson and Butler areas adversely affects efforts to cut the number of students who must be bused. Blacks made aware of wider housing opportunities elsewhere in the county through programs such as Section 8 counseling by the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights housing specialists were more likely to relocate in traditionally white sections of the county and thus contribute to community and natural school desegregation.

The other school attendance areas outside the city where significant numbers of black Section 8 families signed leases were Fern Creek High (75 leases), Western (73) and Durrett (64).

The Thomas Jefferson attendance area showed the largest increase with a net gain of 252 black school age children, almost twice the gain of 136 in the Butler attendance area. On the other hand, the areas which experienced the greatest loss of black school age children were those located in the inner city: 344 from the Central attendance area, 162 from the Manual area, and 144 from the Shawnee area (see Table D).

While those were the most obvious changes, there also were major desegregating moves in the other 24 school attendance

TABLE D

NET GAIN OR LOSS OF BLACK SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN DUE TO SECTION 8 MOVES IN JEFFERSON COUNTY HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AREAS*

High School Attendance Area	Net Gain/Loss of Black School-Age Children
1. Thomas Jefferson	+252
2. Butler	+136
3. Fern Creek	+60
4. Durrett	+59
5. Seneca	+41
6. Moore	+39
7. Southern	+38
8. Iroquois	+28
9. Fairdale	+18
10. Westport	+17
11. Doss	+16
12. Ahrens	+14
13. Valley	+5
14. Atherton	+3
15. Pleasure Ridge Park	+2
16. Stuart	+2
17. Ballard	No Change
18. Waggener	-3
19. Jeffersontown	-7
20. Eastern	-10
21. Western	-38
22. Shawnee	-144
23. Manual	-162
24. Central	-344

*Source: November 6, 1979 computer breakdown of all Jefferson County Section 8 moves since 1975 provided by the University of Louisville Urban Studies Center.

areas. For example, the 38 Section 8 leases signed by blacks in the Southern High School attendance area resulted in a net gain of 35 black school age children in an area that had been almost all white just five years ago.

Other attendance areas gaining black school age children as a result of Section 8 moves were Fern Creek, 60; Durrett, 59 and Seneca, 41.

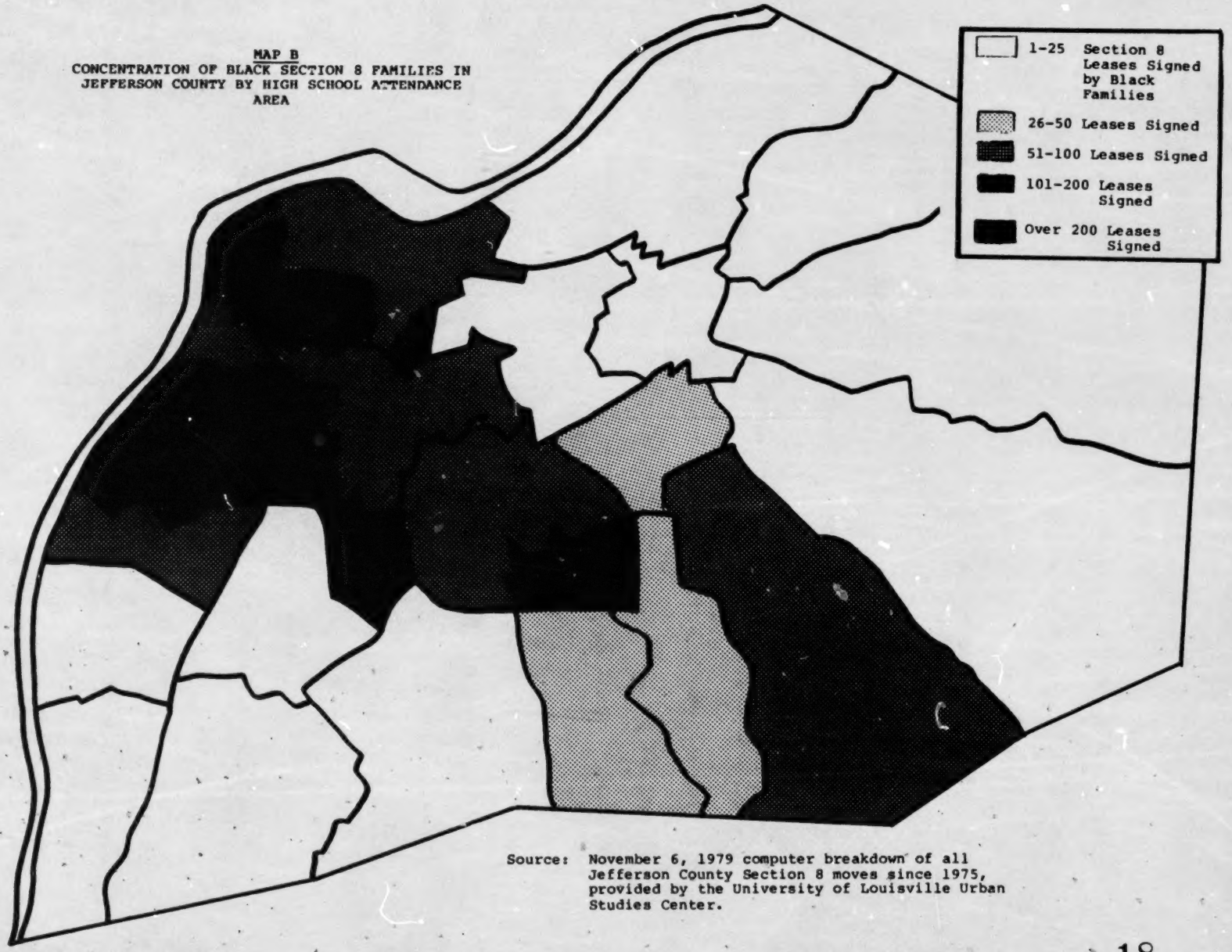
The only school attendance areas outside the city that lost school age black children were Waggener, 3; Jeffersontown, 7; Eastern, 10; and Western, 38.

In contrast, there were 166 black Section 8 leases in the Central area but a net loss of 344 black school age children because of the greater movement out by Section 8 families.

Most neighborhoods in the East End as well as those situated in the outskirts of the county in all directions (such as the Valley High and Stuart High areas in the southwest) got little benefit from Section 8 moves. The entire northeast quadrant of high school attendance areas - which includes Atherton, Ballard, Waggener, Westport and Eastern - gained only 46 additional black families through Section 8 moves.

While there was some movement into most attendance areas in the county (see Map B), most black families found homes or apartments in particular sections within the attendance areas rather than moving into housing throughout the areas. For example, although the attendance areas of Southern and Moore High Schools both extend to the outer southeastern boundaries of Jefferson County and both show a significant number of new

MAP B
CONCENTRATION OF BLACK SECTION 8 FAMILIES IN JEFFERSON COUNTY BY HIGH SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AREA


1-25 Section 8 Leases Signed by Black Families
26-50 Leases Signed
51-100 Leases Signed
101-200 Leases Signed
Over 200 Leases Signed

Source: November 6, 1979 computer breakdown of all Jefferson County Section 8 moves since 1975, provided by the University of Louisville Urban Studies Center.

black residents, virtually all of the leases signed by black Section 8 families in those areas were in portions nearest the city, particularly in the sections adjacent to the Thomas Jefferson attendance areas.

Likewise, most of the black gains in the Fern Creek area, which also extends to the county line, were concentrated in a relatively small area in the northern part of the area, which includes several apartment complexes and homes on and around Bardstown Road, Fegenbush Lane, and Breckenridge Lane, while very few Section 8 leases were signed in the more outlying areas of the area.

The census tract breakdown shown in Maps C and D on Pages 13 and 14 provides a more precise picture of moves by black Section 8 families.

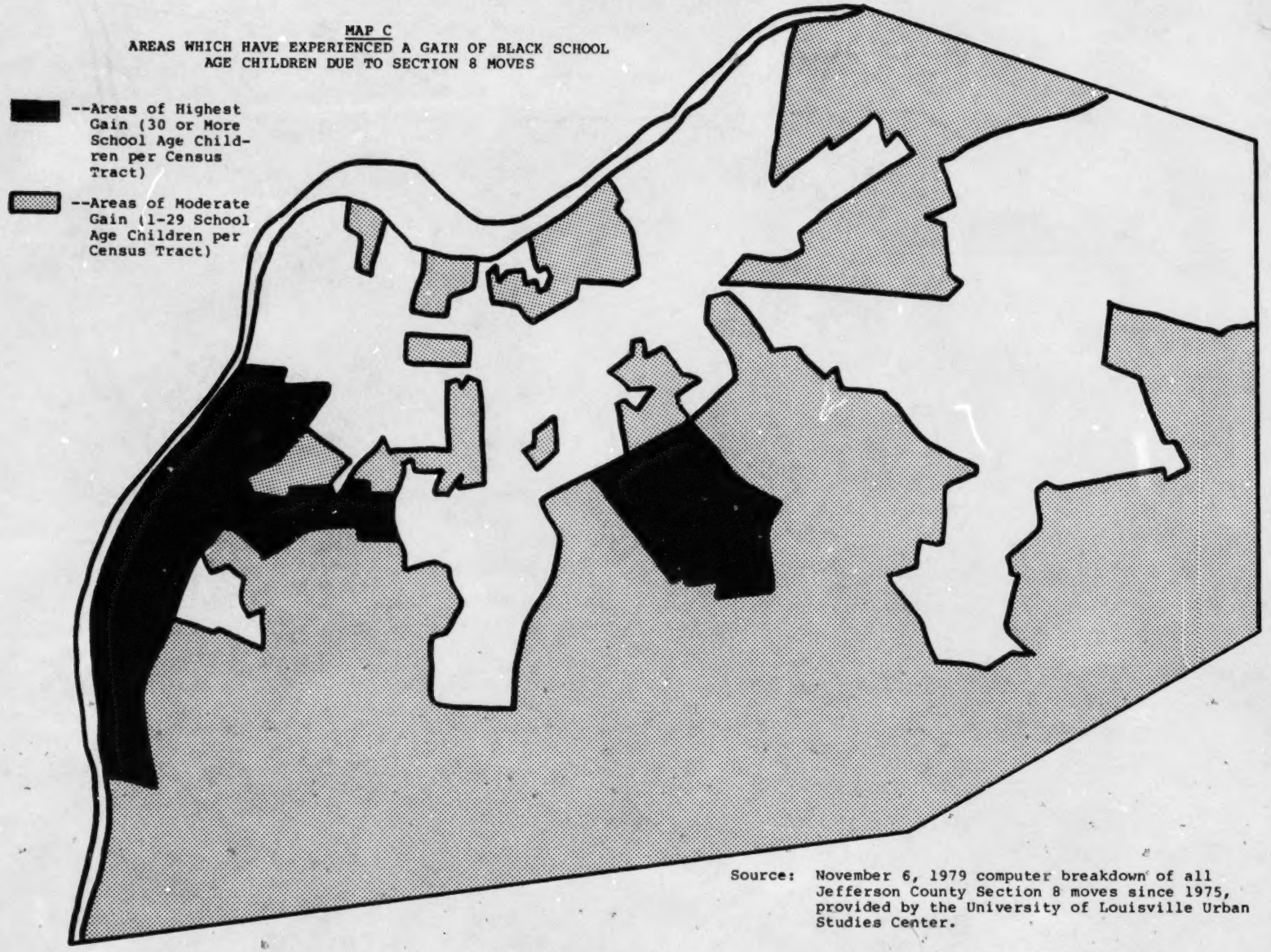
Virtually all areas within the city limits lost at least some black students with the heaviest losses occurring in the city's west end and downtown sectors. The movement outward is the reversal of two decades of concentration within limited areas of the city.

Busing Is A Factor

Busing has been necessary to achieve school desegregation in Jefferson County because of its history of forced housing segregation. From the beginning of the transportation plan, blacks who move into areas where they are in a racial minority immediately become exempt from busing. This has been an added incentive for black families with school age children to move.

In earlier stages of the busing plan, black students were scheduled for busing at least 10 of their 12 years of public

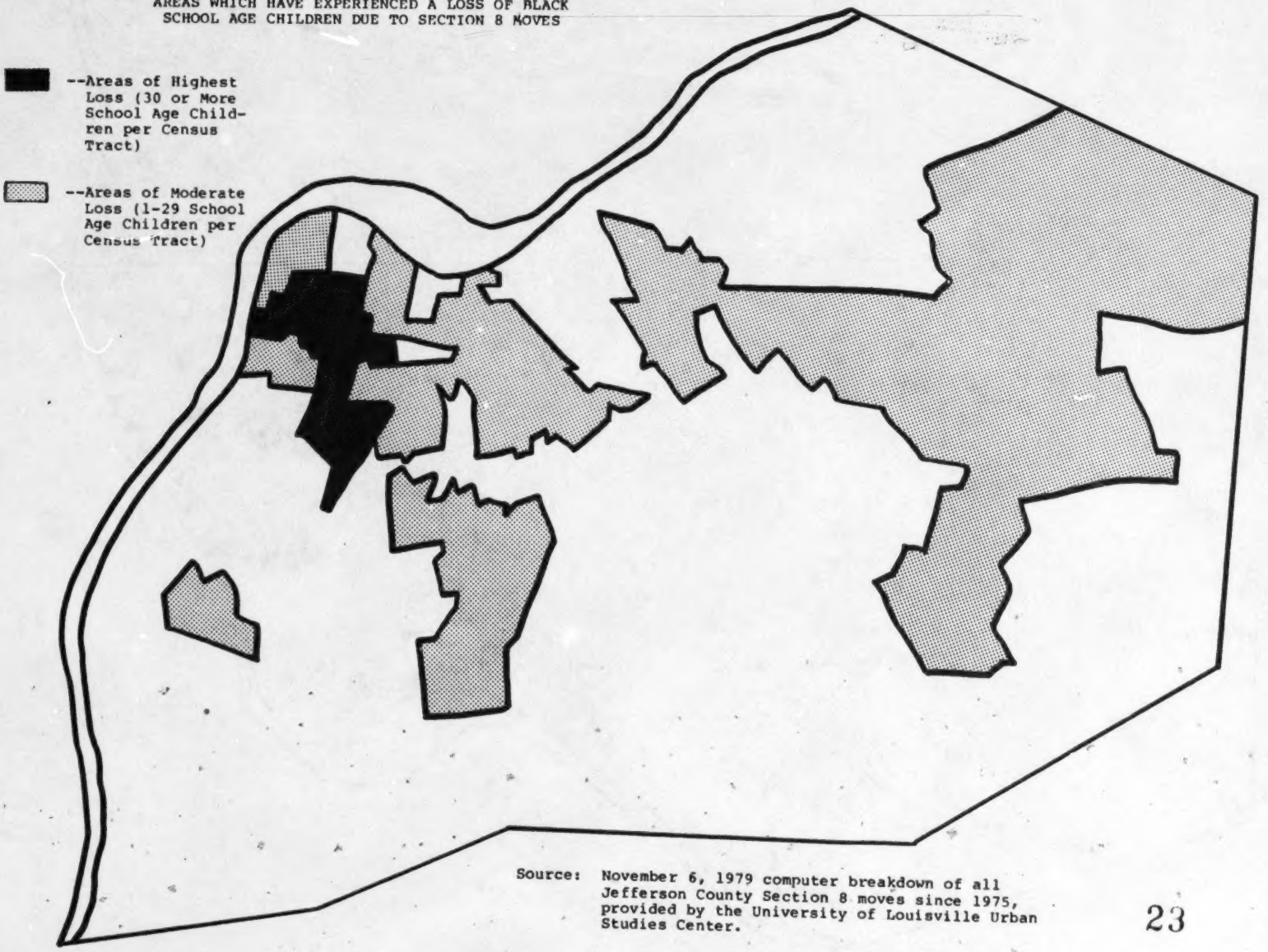
MAP C
AREAS WHICH HAVE EXPERIENCED A GAIN OF BLACK SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN DUE TO SECTION 8 MOVES


--Areas of Highest Gain (30 or More School Age Children per Census Tract)
--Areas of Moderate Gain (1-29 School Age Children per Census Tract)

Source: November 6, 1979 computer breakdown of all Jefferson County Section 8 moves since 1975, provided by the University of Louisville Urban Studies Center.

MAP D

AREAS WHICH HAVE EXPERIENCED A LOSS OF BLACK SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN DUE TO SECTION 8 MOVES


--Areas of Highest Loss (30 or More School Age Children per Census Tract)
--Areas of Moderate Loss (1-29 School Age Children per Census Tract)

Source: November 6, 1979 computer breakdown of all Jefferson County Section 8 moves since 1975, provided by the University of Louisville Urban Studies Center.

education (in contrast, white students were bused only one or two years).

Since the plan first went into effect, black high school students have been transported away from their "neighborhood school" only if they lived in the heavily black attendance areas of Central or Shawnee (see Map A). The remaining 22 high school attendance areas were either overwhelmingly white or exempt from the transportation aspects of the plan because of balanced racial composition. The seven racially balanced high schools were Ahrens, Butler, Durrett, Iroquois, Manual, Thomas Jefferson and Western.

The Section 8 figures show that four out of five of the Section 8 leases signed by black families since 1975 were outside the Central and Shawnee attendance areas, areas which originally housed nearly half (43.5 percent) of all black families benefiting from the Section 8 existing housing program. Since such a large number of black families chose to settle outside the inner-city area, hundreds of black students have been automatically removed from the transportation aspects of the school desegregation plan over the past five years.

Additionally, as enough black families move into a neighborhood to significantly improve the racial balance of a given school attendance area, it is possible that the entire school will become exempted from the plan, thus eliminating the need for any student, black or white, to be transported into or out of that region.

So, not only has the school desegregation plan had a

positive effect on the pattern of Section 8 moves within Jefferson County, but those moves have, in turn, had a positive effect on the school desegregation plan by reducing the overall amount of transportation necessary.

Section 8 Provides New Housing Opportunities

While many black families chose housing in order to eliminate the need for transporting their children to an "away" school, it must be remembered that many of these moves would not have been possible in the first place were it not for the existence of the Jefferson County Section 8 Housing Assistance program. Under Section 8, a federally funded program, a family with an income that does not exceed a certain maximum amount (which is determined by the family's size) may be eligible for financial assistance which would insure that no more than 25 percent of that income would be spent on rent. The family must seek its own housing in the private market, and the dwelling must meet a set of strict physical standards. Obviously, such an arrangement allows many low-income families to substantially upgrade their living conditions without adding a larger burden to their finances, and opens up areas of the county for their consideration which they could not have afforded in the past.

In 1976, after much urging from the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, the Community Development Cabinet of Louisville and the Jefferson County Housing Authority agreed to merge their separate programs in an attempt to maximize the area of choice for the families involved. Prior to this merger, families who lived within the city limits of Louisville

would have had to restrict their housing search only to other dwellings within the city, while those who lived outside the city had to remain there if they were to receive Section 8 assistance. After the two agencies agreed to combine their programs, the Jefferson County Housing Authority assumed full administrative responsibility and everyone enrolled in the program was free to search for new housing in any area of the city or county regardless of where they originally lived.

Since 91 percent of all blacks in Jefferson County lived inside the city limits as late as 1970, the pre-merger Section 8 plan would have guaranteed that most suburban areas of the county would stay as white as they had always been, and that the city would remain disproportionately black. Now, however, the way has been cleared to erase these arbitrary boundaries and allow black families to establish a far more equitable level of concentration in all areas of the county.

This is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that almost two thirds of all black families participating in the Section 8 program in Jefferson County (931, or 65.9 percent) lived in downtown Louisville, the West End, or the Near East Side (all the areas of the city where a relatively high proportion of blacks is found) at the time of certification, but only 464 black Section 8 families (32.8 percent) remained in those areas following relocation. Obviously, 467 black families did not simply disappear--they sought out and found housing outside their traditional city neighborhoods, and in so doing, have made a start at reversing the strong trend toward housing

segregation which has existed in this county for the past several decades.

Not All Section 8 Moves Have Had A Positive Impact

Clearly, Jefferson County's Section 8 Housing Assistance Program has been instrumental in bringing about a large number of moves made by black families from the inner-city to the suburbs over the past three years. In turn, these moves have had a major influence on the redistribution of black students througout the Jefferson County school system and thus have had a significant impact on the school desegregation plan currently in effect.

This impact has not, however, been all positive. While in some areas, increased numbers of black students will assist in achieving the goal of school desegregation, in others, it will make the task even more difficult. Consider, for example, the Newburg area, where six public schools (Thomas Jefferson High School, Newburg Middle, and Price, Hartstern, Rangeland and Luhr elementaries) were exempted from student transportation when the school desegregation plan was initiated because their surrounding neighborhoods were sufficiently desegregated to provide a racial balance in their enrollments. Over the past four years, the percentage of black students attending school in that area has risen to the point where all of these schools, with the exception of Thomas Jefferson, now have black student percentages far in excess of the maximum allowable proportion

established by the 1975 Jefferson County school desegregation plan, and only the recent decision to include Thomas Jefferson in a transportation cluster at the start of the 1980 school year will keep that school from also exceeding the allowable limits. Any further gains in the number of blacks in this area (which is inevitable if nothing is done to alter the present moving patterns) will only serve to inflate these percentages even more.

If the large numbers of black Section 8 families who have migrated to this area over the past three years had instead chosen housing in more diverse areas, such as the Valley, Stuart, or Ballard attendance areas where few black Section 8 families were able to find housing, the Newburg area schools would quite possibly still be within the acceptable guidelines, while the need for student transportation for desegregation in the other three areas would be substantially reduced.

Housing Authority Can Aid Desegregation Efforts

Because of the above facts, the Jefferson County Housing Authority has a special responsibility to see that its policies are not allowed to contribute to further school segregation by causing racial impaction of any neighborhoods.

Insofar as the Section 8 program itself is concerned, all participants should be repeatedly made aware of the fact that they are in no way restricted to any particular area of the county in their search for housing. Landlords participating in the Section 8 program should be carefully instructed of their legal obligation to operate their units on a desegregated basis

and regular investigations should be conducted by the Housing Authority to insure that they are meeting those obligations.

Such programs as the Kentucky Commission Fair Housing Center can be effective in educating applicants on the advantages of making desegregated moves (exemption from busing and better quality housing, for example), and can also provide free transportation to county areas for black homeseekers who may not have cars of their own.

Section 8 offices in at least one region of the Southeastern United States have agreed to reserve a certain percentage of their allotted certifications to families who pledge to make desegregating moves, thus giving those families "certification priority" over those who refuse to make such moves. The adoption of such a plan in Jefferson County would likely result in an even larger number of desegregated moves and rightfully reward those persons who are willing to make them.

Aside from the specific area of Section 8, the Jefferson County Housing Authority is also in a position to take other steps which would reduce neighborhood segregation. For example, the Housing Authority is currently marketing 263 plots of land in the Petersburg area of the Newburg community to private developers who will soon be constructing homes on the sites. Obviously, because of the present racial character of the community, unless an overt effort is made to attract white home buyers into the development area, the vast majority of these new residents will be black households which will only

serve to further increase the level of segregation.

Such an overt effort should be made, preferably in the form of an Affirmative Action marketing agreement which would require all participating developers and real estate personnel to fill these homes, once built, on a desegregated basis. Ideally, a minimum of three out of every five homes in the development should be purchased by whites in order to achieve an integrated population and preserve the exempt status of the schools in the Newburg area. If such a goal were attained it would constitute a major step toward reversing the trend toward resegregation which has occurred in that region during the past decade.

In general, any action which could be taken by the Jefferson County Housing Authority to 1) insure affirmative marketing of all new housing, or 2) provide low-cost and assisted housing throughout the county on a scattered site basis, is both welcome and necessary if the Authority is serious about its commitment to racially integrated neighborhoods and reduced school segregation.

School Desegregation Plan Must Adapt To Housing Changes

Regardless of what steps are taken in the future on the part of the Housing Authority to alleviate housing segregation however, the Jefferson County Board of Education has an immediate responsibility to operate its schools in a desegregated manner in compliance with the 1975 court order. As a part of that statement, Judge James Gordon stressed the point that the

1975 busing pattern was not carved in stone, but rather may need to be altered from time to time to adapt to population shifts in the county. His exact statement was, "Any demographic changes in the county may cause some inaccuracy which will require minor revision of this plan. The school administration will make the appropriate revision as a part of the implementation of this plan."

Now that the Board of Education is currently considering various substantial changes in the structure of the school system (closing of schools, reclustering of schools for purposes of transportation, etc.) for the 1980-81 school year, the Commission staff wishes to emphasize that the maintenance of continued racial balance in all schools should continue to be the major consideration of the board in ordering such changes. Although building condition and underutilization of space should of course be major concerns in guiding the board members to whatever decisions they may make, the school desegregation plan must not take a back seat to such concerns. Whatever alterations are made should, first and foremost, result in the achievement of a proper racial balance in those schools currently outside the desegregation guidelines.

In case of the Newburg area, this would mean the inclusion of several formerly exempt schools in a transportation pattern with neighboring white schools, and the recent decision to include Thomas Jefferson High in such a pattern is a proper first step. Further alteration of this type would head off the resegregation which threatens to occur in those schools

as a result of the recent heavy black movement into the area.

Particular attention should also be given to those elementary schools located in the inner city where black students continue to make up a disproportionate percentage of the student population. In those cases, if the building is currently being underutilized, the busing patterns could be altered to bring more white students into the school. If, on the other hand, it is overcrowded, more black students could be transported to schools in the suburbs which are presently being underutilized.

Obviously, the questions of which schools to close and how clustering should be rearranged, when dealing with approximately 100,000 students, are not simple ones, and the Commission staff does not claim to know all of the facts which must be considered. Whatever decision is ultimately reached regarding the reallocation of school facilities however, the staff hopes it will reflect an awareness on the part of the school board of their primary responsibility under the law: to provide a quality education, on an equal basis, to all students of Jefferson County regardless of their race.

Conclusions

This report has pointed out how one program, Section 8 administered by one agency, the Jefferson County Housing Authority, has been responsible for a major demographic change in the racial character of the Jefferson County community. While in several areas of the county it has allowed the school

board to reduce the amount of transportation necessary to achieve school desegregation, in others it has created population shifts which will necessitate additional student transportation. If the Jefferson County Board of Education properly adapts to such shifts, and the Jefferson County Housing Authority and the area's landlords take steps to insure that all future moves under Section 8 have a positive effect on the desegregation of the county's neighborhoods, all residents of the county will benefit from their actions. If, however, they choose to ignore their responsibilities, further segregation of many county neighborhoods and schools will occur, and the Section 8 program's potential for progress will be lost.

While the advantages of the program have, so far, outweighed the disadvantages, care must be taken by all concerned to guarantee that the negative aspects will be corrected, and that the program will achieve its maximum potential as a major desegregating tool throughout all of Jefferson County.

Appendix

Table E, which treats Jefferson County as 8 distinct geographical areas--Louisville's West End, Central Louisville, South Louisville, Eastern Louisville, Southwest Jefferson County, South Central Jefferson County, Southeast Jefferson County and Northeast Jefferson County--provides a detailed account of exactly where those black Section 8 families who left their original housing area were most likely to move. For example, reading down the first column, the reader can see that of the 505 families who moved out of the West End, 46 chose to go to the Central City, 88 to South Louisville, 27 to East Louisville, and so on. Using these figures, he can then determine that the most popular area of new housing for families who left Western Louisville was the South Central portion of the County, where 160 of them moved, while the least popular was Northeastern Jefferson County, which only received 15 new families from the West End.

Table E can also be used to tell where all of the new black families in any given area originally came <u>from</u>. For this purpose, the reader should read <u>across</u> the columns rather than down. For example, reading across the top line, one can see that of 73 black families that moved <u>into</u> the West End, 24 came from the Central City, 10 from South Louisville, 4 from East Louisville, etc. Data of this type should enable the reader to determine which areas are most likely to feed black

Section 8 families into any given sector.

Table F can be used in exactly the same way as Table E, but it refers to the number of school-age children who made inter-area moves rather than the number of lease holders. It is included in order to provide a more detailed picture of the effect of such moves on school desegregation efforts.

TABLE E

MOVEMENT OF BLACK SECTION 8 FAMILIES BETWEEN GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY

	From West End	From Central Louisville	From South Louisville	From East Louisville	From Southwest Jeff. Co.	From Southcentral Jeff. Co.	From Southeast Jeff. Co.	From Northeast Jeff. Co.
To West End	[311]	24	10	4	13	11	4	7
To Central Louisville	46	[24]	3	1	4	1	0	0
To South Louisville	88	7	[25]	1	6	7	3	2
To East Louisville	27	4	1	[13]	4	4	2	3
To Southwest Jefferson Co	125	22	10	4	[64]	5	3	0
To Southcentral Jefferson Co	160	22	14	13	19	[134]	19	8
To Southeast Jefferson Co	44	5	4	2	3	17	[22]	3
To Northeast Jefferson Co	15	3	1	0	0	5	0	[3]

TOTALS	73 To West End	55 To Central Louisville	114 To South Louisville	45 To East Louisville	169 To Southwest Jefferson Co.	255 To Southcentral Jefferson Co.	78 To Southeast Jefferson Co.	24 To Northeast Jefferson Co.
	505 From West End	87 From Central Louisville	43 From South Louisville	25 From East Louisville	49 From Southwest Jefferson Co.	50 From Southcentral Jefferson Co.	31 From Southeast Jefferson Co.	23 From Northeast Jefferson Co.

[1]Note that the figures along the diagonal enclosed in small boxes represent Section 8 Families who chose to remain in the same area in which they started out, and thus do not account for any real movement to new regions. For this reason, the "From" and "To" totals do not include these children.

TABLE F

MOVEMENT OF BLACK SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN BETWEEN GEOGRAPHICAL REGIONS OF JEFFERSON COUNTY DUE TO SECTION 8[1]

	From West End	From Central Louisville	From South Louisville	From East Louisville	From Southwest Jeff. Co.	From Southcentral Jeff. Co.	From Southeast Jeff. Co.	From Northeast Jeff. Co.
To West End	[518]	55	15	7	26	25	8	11
To Central Louisville	93	[27]	5	4	6	2	0	0
To South Louisville	138	6	[36]	1	10	12	5	1
To East Louisville	39	4	5	[18]	6	7	3	8
To Southwest Jefferson Co	154	33	16	5	[106]	7	4	0
To Southcentral Jefferson Co	288	34	33	27	40	[263]	37	12
To Southeast Jefferson Co	78	8	6	6	5	31	[47]	7
To Northeast Jefferson Co	29	4	4	0	0	11	0	[3]

TOTALS	147 To West End	110 To Central Louisville	173 To South Louisville	72 To East Louisville	219 To Southwest Jefferson Co	471 To Southcentral Jefferson Co	141 To Southeast Jefferson Co	48 To Northeast Jefferson Co
	819 From West End	144 From Central Louisville	84 From South Louisville	50 From East Louisville	93 From Southwest Jefferson Co	95 From Southcentral Jefferson Co	57 From Southeast Jefferson Co	39 From Northeast Jefferson Co

[1]Note that the figures along the diagonal enclosed in the small boxes represent children in Section 8 Families who chose to remain in the same area in which they started out, and thus do not account for any real movement to new regions. For his reason, the "From" and "To" totals do not include these children.

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Under the Kentucky Civil Rights Act of 1966, KRS 344.190 (11), the Commission has the duty "to make studies appropriate to effectuate the purpose and policies of this chapter and to make the results thereof available to the public."

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Printed with State funds April, 1980.